

Message Text

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11/17

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BUDAPEST 0692

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (LAST SENTENCE PARA 1)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, HU

SUBJECT: HSWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECISIONS - SIGNIFICANCE

REF: BUDAPEST 0682 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: SEVERAL CONCLUSIONS APPEAR INESCAPABLE AS RESULT OF MAJ
OR
SHAKEUP OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ANNOUNCED MARCH 22 BY COMM-
UNIQUE OF HSWP CC (BUDAPEST 0682). THEY ARE AS FOLLOWS: A) MAJOR
CLASH HAS TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE FACTIONS IN
PARTY, VERY PROBABLY OVER QUESTION OF HOW ECONOMIC REFORM (NEM)
BEING CARRIED OUT; B) OUSTER FROM SECRETARIAT OF RESZO NYERS AND
GYORGY ACZEL, ONE ARCHITECT OF NEM, OTHER CONSIDERED A LIBERAL FORCE
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IN CULTURAL FIELD INDICATES THAT CONSERVATIVE FORCES (PROBABLY

HEADED BY GASPAR AND PULLAI HAVE SCORED A SUCCESS: C) POSTPONEMENT OF XI PARTY CONGRESS FROM NOV THIS YEAR TO MARCH 1975 SEEMS TO INDICATE OUTCOME OF STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO WARRING FACTIONS NOT DEFINITELY RESOLVED: D) WHAT IMPACT LIKELY TO BE ON NEM REMAINS TO BE SEEN, ALTHOUGH COMMUNIQUE ITSELF AND EDITORIAL COMMENTS STRIVING TO ASSURE HUNGARIAN CHANGES IN PERSONNEL INTENDED TO PROMOTE STILL MORE EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF LINE LAID DOWN AT 10TH PARTY CONGRESS (1970) AND REINFORCED AT CC SESSION NOV 1972; AND E) FINALLY WHETHER PERSONNEL CHANGES ARE REFLECTION OF SOVIET PRESSURE, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH CONSERVATIVE ELEMENT IN PARTY REMAINS FOR MOMENT UNCLEAR. HOWEVER, THAT SOVIETS COULD NOT FAIL TO BE PLEASED BY MOST RECENT CHANGES. END SUMMARY.

2. LIBERALS SUFFERED HEAVY CASUALTIES AS RESULT OF RECENT CC DECISIONS WITH OUSTER OF NYERS AND ACZEL FROM PARTY SECRETARIAT AND MIKLOS AJTAI FROM COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, NYERS WAS ARCHITECT OF NEM AND CHAIRMAN OF TWO KEY CC BODIES, NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE (WHICH OPERATES UNDER DIRECT SUPERVISION OF HSWP SECRETARIAT), AND ECONOMIC WORKING COLLECTIVE. FEHER AND AJTAI, BOTH RETIRED, WERE ALSO MEMBERS OF PRESTIGIOUS NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE. WITH OUSTER OF NYERS FROM SECRETARIAT IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR WHETHER HE HAS LOST HIS POLITBURO AND CC MEMBERSHIP AND CHAIRMAN OF THOSE TWO CC BODIES. HOWEVER, COMMUNIQUE'S STATEMENT THAT IT HAS MODIFIED COMPOSITIONS OF COMMITTEES AND WORKING COLLECTIVES ATTACHED TO CC AND WILL PUBLISH THEM IN PARTELET, MONTHLY HSWP PUBLICATION, MAY MEAN THAT NYERS HAS BEEN DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS KEY PARTY POSITIONS AND SENT OFF TO OBSCURE NATIONAL SCIENCE ACADEMY BODY.

3. RETIREMENT OF AJTAI IS ALSO BLOW TO LIBERAL CAUSE. AS VP OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AJTAI WAS IN CHARGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. HE WAS MADE VP IN 1967 AFTER 5 1/2 YEARS AS CHAIRMAN OF NATIONAL PLANNING OFFICE TO HELP GOVERNMENT UNDERTAKE IMPLEMENTATION OF NEM. CONSIDERED ONE OF HUNGARY'S PRIMEARY PLANNERS, HE WAS HEAD OF RELATIVELY NEWLY CREATED COMMISSION ON SCIENTIFIC POLICY UNDER COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON SCIENTIFIC POLICY, AND ALSO MEMBER OF CC'S AGIT-PROP COMMITTEE.

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4. FEHER, LIKE ACZEL AND AJTAI, A CLOSE FRIEND OF KADAR, WAS AN AGRARIAN EXPERT AND FIRM SUPPORTER ALSO OF NEM. HE HAS BEEN ON CC SINCE 1956 AND POLITBURO MEMBER SINCE 1957. PRESUMABLY, ON HIS RETIREMENT HE (AND AJTAI) WILL BE RELIEVED OF ALL PARTY FUNCTIONS

5. WHEREAS ACZEL USED TO MAKE POLICY AS MEMBER OF SECRETARIAT, POLITBURO, AND AS CHAIRMAN OF CC'S CULTURAL POLICY WORKING COMMITTEE

HE WILL NOW BE REDUCED AS VP OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO CARRYING OUT HIS OWN POLICIES OR THOSE OF HIS SUCCESSOR IMRE GYORI. HOW HE HANDLES HIMSELF MAY PROVIDE EARLY INDICATION OF BASIC THRUST OF NEW CHANGES. IT IS LESS CERTAIN IN HIS CASE WHETHER HE WILL BE REMOVED FROM HIS POLITBURO AND CC RESPONSIBILITIES.

6. WITH EXCEPTION OF ACZEL NEW MEMBERS OF SECRETARIAT (NEMETH, GYORI) AND NEW VPS (ACZEL, BORBANDI) ALL HAVE MORE CONSERVATIVE TINGE THAN THEIR PREDECESSORS. GYORI COMES TO SECRETARIAT FROM HIS POST AS SECRETARY OF CSONGRAD COUNTY HSWP COMMITTEE, SAME POST WHICH NEMETH USED AS SPRINGBOARD FOR HIS LEADERSHIP OF IMPORTANT BUDAPEST PARTY COMMITTEE. HE HAS BEEN A MEMBER OF CC SINCE 1966 (9TH CONGRESS) AND IS A MEMBER OF CULTURAL COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. HE WAS ALSO DEPUTY CHIEF OF PARTY'S AGIT-PROP COMMITTEE DURING COLD WAR DAYS PRIOR TO 1962. NEMETH, CONSIDERED BY MANY TO HAVE INSIDE TRACK AS SUCCESSOR TO KADAR, APPEARS TO HAVE MADE BIG STRIDE FORWARD IN MOVING INTO PARTY SECRETARIAT. HE IS CONSIDERED SOMEWHAT OF A DRAB "APPARATCHIK", NOT PARTICULARLY GIFTED WITH POLITICAL ACUMEN, RETIRING LIKE KADAR, SHORT ON FORMAL EDUCATION, BUT APPARENTLY A TALENTED ADMINISTRATOR. WHILE HIS POLITICAL LEANINGS CANNOT BE LABELED CONSERVATIVE, NEITHER CAN THEY BE CALLED LIBERAL. HE APPEARS TO BE MORE OF A MODERATE WITH NO PARTICULAR AFFILIATIONS WITH EITHER OF TWO FACTIONS

ALTHOUGH HE IS WIDELY KNOWN AS A PROTEGE OF KADAR. VP BORBANDI HAS BACKGROUND IN SECURITY AFFAIRS. A ONE-TIME MAJOR GENERAL HE SERVED AS DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND WAS CHIEF OF MAIN POLITICAL DIRECTORATE OF HUNGARIAN PEOPLES ARMY. HE COMES TO HIS NEW POSITION FROM JOB AS CC'S CHIEF OF ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT WHICH CLOSELY SUPERVISES MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE, INTERIOR, AND JUSTICE, INCLUDING SECRET POLICE AND FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. A CC MEMBER SINCE 1962 HE WILL PROBABLY BE RESPONSIBLE FOR PERSONNEL MATTERS.

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7. CC COMMUNIQUE ANNOUNCED ALSO THAT ZOLTAN KOMOSCIN, MEMBER OF BOTH SECRETARIAT AND POLITBURO, HAS BEEN PUT IN CHARGE OF EDITORIAL BOARD OF NEPSZABADSAG. HE COMES TO THIS TASK FROM BACKGROUND IN AGIT-PROP AFFAIRS AND ONCE WAS (1957-61) EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THAT ORGAN. WE INTERPRET KOMOSCIN'S NEW TASK AS REFLECTIVE OF CC DESIRE TO HAVE TIGHTER CONTROL OF PARTY MOUTHPIECE DURING PERIOD OF DETENTE, ADJUSTMENT IN INTERNAL ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND OF NEW EFFORT TO IMPROVE IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF BOTH WORKERS AND YOUTH. CC MEMBER ISTVAN SARLOS WAS REMOVED AS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF AND SENT OFF TO BE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF PATRIOTIC PEOPLES FRONT. NO MENTION MADE OF HIS SUCCESSOR BUT INFERENCE IS THAT KOMOSCIN WILL ASSUME HIS POLICY GUIDANCE ROLE. ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PAPER HERE DESCRIBES HIM AS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF.

8. IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE OF NEM AT THIS STAGE DIFFICULT TO PIN DOWN. CERTAINLY OUSTER OF NYERS IS BLOW TO NEM SUPPORTERS AND YET PRIME MINISTER FOCK, INTIMATELY INVOLVED WITH NYERS IN DEVELOPMENT OF NEM AND WHO HAS VIGOROUSLY DEFENDED NEM AGAINST CRITICS CLAIMING IT IS DEVIATION FROM TRUE SOCIALISM, IS STILL AROUND. AND SO ARE TIMAR, HUSZAR, ETC. CC COMMUNIQUE AND PRESS COMMENTARY BOTH HAVE UNDERSCORED THAT CC HAS NO INTENTIONS OF DEVIATING FROM DECISIONS OF 10TH PARTY CONGRESS AND THAT IN FACT NEW PERSONNEL CHANGES DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE MORE EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT.

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9. NEM MAY GAIN BE GOING THROUGH ONE OF ITS PERIODIC RE-ADJUSTMENTS. PROBLEMS CONTINUE TO PLAGUE THE REFORM. A WAGE AND COST SPIRAL HAS CONTINUED, A PHENOMENON DISTURBING TO THOSE HUNGARIANS

AT BOTTOM OF LOCAL WAGE SCALE. NEM HAS BEEN UNDER HEAVY FIRE RECENTLY FROM CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS, HEADED MAINLY BY TU LEADER SANDOR GASPAR, WHO HAVE COMPLAINED THAT WORKERS, PARTICULARLY IN LARGE

INDUSTRIES, ARE NOT BENEFITTING FROM REFORMS TO EXTENT OTHER SECTORS OF SOCIETY, E.G., WHITE COLLAR WORKERS, INTELLIGENTSIA, PEASANTRY, ETC. THEY ARGUE THAT NEW MONIED CLASS HAS ARISEN INFECTED WITH BOURGEOIS MATERIALISTIC IDEAS UNACCEPTABLE IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY. FURTHERMORE

INDIVIDUAL ENTREPRENEURS HAVE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF GAPS IN REFORM LEGISLATION TO ENRICH THEMSELVES BY AMASSING QUICK FORTUNES THROUGH SPECULATION.

10. IN ADDITION, IT IS NO SECRET THAT MAJORITY OF WORKERS, IF
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NOT ANTI-COMMUNIST, ARE AT LEAST NON-COMMUNIST AND MANY OF THEM HAVE BECOME AFFECTED WITH WHAT ACZEL IN RECENT ARTICLE IN TARSADALME ZEMLE LABELED "CONSUMERISM". UNDER DETENTE CONDITIONS WITH PROSPECT OF MORE EXPOSURE TO WESTERN IDEAS AND CULTURE PARTY LEADERS, RECOGNIZING VULNERABILITY TO SOVIET CRITICISM FROM ABROAD AND FROM CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS AT HOME MAY HAVE DECIDED TIME HAS COME TO BLUNT SUCH CRITICISM BY MOVING TO CHANGE SOCIAL PATTERN OF PARTY'S MAKEUP.

11. THAT THIS IS IN FACT CASE APPEARS TO BE BORNE OUT BY COMMUNIQUE'S CALL FOR INCREASING NUMBER OF PHYSICAL WORKERS TO BE BROUGHT INTO PARTY WITH MORE TALENTED TO BE ADVANCED INTO RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS IN PUBLIC LIFE. COUPLED WITH URGENT APPEAL TO IMPROVE MARX-

IST-LENINIST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF WORKERS IT APPEARS THAT HSWP INTENDS TO ALTER SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT TO REFLECT TO DEGREE DESIRABLE SOCIALIST SOCIETY BASED ON RULE BY WORKERS. CALL FOR MORE FACTORY DEMOCRACY OBVIOUSLY RESPONSIVE TO ONE OF GASPAR'S PRIME DEMANDS AND PROBABLY REFLECTS WORKERS' RESENTMENT THAT THEY HAVE NO SAY IN MANAGEMENT OF FACTORIES OR IN CHOICE OF MANAGERS THEMSELVES. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT AT ONE POINT CC COMMUNIQUE DECLARES FACTORY DEMOCRACY IS RESPONSIBILITY OF PARTY, TRADE UNIONS, AND YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS. IN NEXT BREATH IT EMPHASIZES THAT SINCE "LEADING ROLE OF WORKING CLASS IS POLITICALLY

ASSERTED BY PARTY IN DEVELOPMENT OF FACTORY DEMOCRACY TOO, ROLE OF PARTY MUST BE REGARDED AS FUNDAMENTAL". THIS APPEARS TO BE WARNING TO GASPAR NOT TO OVERSTEP APPROVED BOUNDS OF LABOR LEADERS IN PURSUIT OF WORKERS' RIGHTS. IN EFFORT TO SEE TO IT THAT WORKERS ARE BROUGHT INTO PARTY BETTER PREPARED IDEOLOGICALLY, OUTGOING CC SECRETARY ACZEL PRESENTED DECISION TO REALIGN EDUCATION SYSTEM TO GREATER ADVANTAGE OF INDUSTRIAL AND RURAL WORKERS.

12. QUESTION NATURALLY ARISES TO WHAT EXTENT PERSONNEL AND OTHER CHANGES OUTLINED BY CC COMMUNIQUE REFLECT SOVIET CRITICISM. COMMUNIQUE IN THIS REGARD, CONSPICUOUSLY MENTIONS DECEMBER MEETING OF PARTY IDEOLOGISTS IN MOSCOW. SOME OF EMBASSY'S

CONTACTS BELIEVE MOSCOW CONCERNED OVER EFFECTS DETENTE HAVING
ON PARTY CADRES, PARTICULARLY INTELLECTUALS AND PROFESSIONALS,
WHO ARE MOST SUSCEPTIBLE TO WESTERN INFLUENCE. THEY CLAIM THAT
SOVIETS SEE ANTI-SOCIALIST SPIRIT EVEN AMONG WORKING CLASS,
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AND ARGUE THAT IF SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS TO EXIST, IT MUST BE RECON-
STRUCTED ON SHOULDERS OF WORKERS. IF CONSERVATIVE FACTION IN HSWP
THINKS ALONG THESE LINES IT WOULD MAKE SENSE FOR THEM TO SEEK
SOVIET SUPPORT AND FOR SOVIETS TO GIVE IT TO A GASPAR AND/OR
A PULLAI. CERTAINLY SOVIETS KNOW THAT NEM IS VERY SIMILAR IN
MANY WAYS TO MIRE NAGY'S "NEW COURSE" OF 1953 AND THEY REMEMBER
HOW THAT TURNED OUT. OF COURSE WE DO NOT KNOW WITH CERTAINTY
WHETHER SOVIETS WORKING THROUGH CONSERVATIVES IN HSWP BUT,
IT IS REASONABLE TO SUSPECT THAT THEY ARE. IN ANY CASE, SOVIETS
CANNOT BUT BREATHE EASIER NOW THAT NYERS AND OTHER ECONOMIC
LIBERALS ARE NOT LONGER ON SCENE.

13. WHAT IS KADAR'S ROLE IN ALL THIS? DID HE MAKE THESE CHANGES
ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE OR WAS HIS HAND FORCED BY SOVIETS AND/OR
HIS OWN CONSERVATIVE WING? HE HAS LOST TWO CLOSE COLLABORATORS
IN FEHER AND AJTAI AND ANOTHER (ACZEL) NO LONGER HAS DECISION-
MAKING POWERS HE ONCE HAD. ON OTHER HAND, HIS PROTEGE NEMETH HAS
RISEN TO SECRETARIAT. LIKE IMRE NAGY, KADAR SEEMS TO BELIEVE
THAT WIDENING HIS REGIME'S POPULAR BASE IS ONLY WAY TO FOSTER
SOCIALISM IN HUNGARY. BUT UNLIKE NAGY, KADAR IS MORE PRACTICAL
AND GRADUAL IN HIS APPROACH. DESPITE FACT THAT HUNGARY HAS ENJOYED
RELATIVE STABILITY FOR LAST DECADE KADAR STILL FEARS THAT MAJOR
MISCALCULATION COULD SET BACK OR EVEN DESTROY HIS ENTIRE PROGRAM.
THUS, HE MAY HAVE DECIDED (OR CONSENTED TO) SOME CHANGES TO MEET
DEMANDS OF TIMES IN INTEREST OF PRESERVING BEST ASPECTS OF NEM.

14. THUS, OUR PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT IS THAT ALTHOUGH HEM MAY
HAVE SUFFERED A SETBACK, KADAR AND PARTY WILL CONTINUE TO GO FORWARD,
PROBABLY MORE SLOWLY AND MORE MEASUREDLY, WITH FUNDAMENTAL
DECISIONS TAKEN AT 10TH PARTY CONGRESS. A RADICAL CHANGE IN POLICY
WOULD BE COUNTER TO EVERYTHING KADAR HAS WORKED FOR SINCE 1956
AND WOULD BE FRAUGHT WITH PROSPECTS FOR ENORMOUS ECONOMIC, POLITICAL,
AND SOCIAL UPEHAVAL. THERE WILL BE CHANGES AND ADJUSTMENTS TO BE
SURE, BUT WE BELIEVE IN ITS MAIN THRUST NEM WILL CONTINUE.
BEST INDICATION OF THAT SEEMS TO BE FACT THAT KADAR HIMSELF WILL
BE IN CHARGE OF PARTY COMMITTEE CHARGED WITH DRAWING UP GUIDELINES
FOR 11TH HSWP CONGRESS NEXT MARCH.
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